clouds of dust. The Rainy Season begins sometime late in May or early in June and lasts until October. Almost all of Tadagale's 90 to 100 inches of annual rainfall comes during this period. It rains every day, in periodic downpours which often start so suddenly that the newcomer to the area is caught unaware on a good many occasions. Although temperatures drop during the Rainy Season to daily maxima in the low 80's, the discomfort, for the average denizen of the temperate zone, is greater than in the Hot Season because of the extremely high humidity and the small difference between daily maximum and minimum temperatures. 132

The Burmese inhabitants of the community, who are 90% of the population, are medium brown in skin color, tend to be broad-nosed, have straight black hair, and are of medium stature. 142

All of the men, with the exception of a few of the old ones, wear their hair in western style, cut short and parted on one side. The women, however, adhere to the traditional Burmese hair styles, without exception. Little girls wear their hair in a top-knot on the middle of the head, with a circular part around the temples and crown, short bangs hanging down in front. Adult women comb their hair, liberally oiled, back to form a coiled knot at the nape of the neck. Adherence by the women to traditional hair styles and mode of dress is strikingly in contrast with the situation in neighboring Thailand, where permanent waves and short skirts may be seen among peasant women many miles outside the capital. 302 177

Burmese dress is universal in the village. It consists of the longyi, a circular, single-seamed skirt reaching to the ankles, and a jacket. The longyi is worn by both sexes. The woman's longyi differs from the man's in that it has a black waistband sewn to the upper edge. It is folded over and tucked in at the waist. The man's longyi is drawn tight about the waist and knotted in front to hold it in place. Women's jackets (the singyi) are not quite so loose-fitting as men's, and for dress occasions they are made of fine muslin, or, if it can be afforded, sheer nylon, climate notwithstanding. Men's jackets are of a heavier material, and are never worn at the workaday tasks of everyday life in the village; the men generally go unclad from the waist up. For ordinary wear both sexes use wooden clog-like shoes, held to the foot by a single band of rubber over the in-step. For dress occasions, single-thonged leather sandals are worn. 291

About nine hundred people live in Tadagale. Census data collected at first-hand do not yield exact information because a few families could not be interviewed. The data include 807 people, and it is doubtful if as many as one hundred people were not covered by the census. 161

In Table I below the population of the village is given in terms of ethnic groups. The imposition of any a priori set of categories was avoided, and informants were simply asked the question, "To what people do you consider yourself to belong?" In this way it was possible to learn something of the group identifications of informants. 162

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Table I

Ethnic Identification of Villagers

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Response	Number	Per Cent of Total
Burmese	726	90.0
Indian Hindu	46	6.0
Indian Muslim	3	0.4
Pakistani Muslim	1	0.1
Chinese	2	0.2
Talaing (Mon)	12	2.0
Karen	1	0.1
Tavoyan	1	0.1
Sino-Burmese	7	1.0
Indo-Burmese	3	0.4
Indo-Burmese Muslim	3	0.4
Karen-Burmese	2	0.2
Total	807	

It is interesting to note that 2% of the village population identified themselves as Talaings (Mons). The general area of Burma in which Tadagale is located was first settled by the Talaings, who came with the first of three major historic waves of migration into Burma. The Burmese arrived centuries later in the dry zone of Upper Burma and then thrust southward to conquer the Talaings and Burmanize the area. No doubt many more than 2% of the people of Tadagale can trace their ancestry back to the Talaings, but today they think of themselves simply as Burmese.

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The majority of the people of the village were born either in Tadagale or in its immediate vicinity. Nearly 68% were born in Tadagale or in nearby villages included with the administrative unit "Tadagale Tract." Another 19% were born elsewhere within Insein District, the next higher administrative-geographic unit to which the village belongs. 11% originate from other districts of Burma, while the remaining 3% are foreign-born. The latter are all Indians, save one person born in China.

244

Garden cultivation is quite simple. Hand tools, such as steel mattocks, rakes and hoes, which are obtained from Rangoon, are employed to prepare the soil. Cattle or water buffalo excrement is mixed with water to a thin consistency and poured from bamboo-spouted metal buckets over the ground. (The use of human excrement as a fertilizer, common in China and Japan, is not practiced in Burma.) During the monsoon season there is, of course, no problem of irrigation, but during the hot and dry seasons the gardens must be watered frequently. This task is often performed by young boys, who draw water from the wells and apply it to the gardens. The work of picking the matured crops and preparing them for transport to market is commonly done by female members of the household.

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2. Paddy Cultivation. The principal occupation of forty-three persons is cultivation of paddy. This category is here defined to include individuals who own or rent land on which they cultivate paddy, as distinct from persons who work on a wage basis in the paddy cultivation of others. The latter are referred to in this report as field laborers.

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Of the thirty-four paddy land holdings on which we have data, twenty-nine are rented and five are owned by the cultivators. All but one of these holdings is under twenty acres. This high ratio of renters to owners, as well as the small number of paddy cultivators relative to the total number of gainfully occupied villagers is reflective of long-run trends in agriculture in this general area. Rural tenancy has been the outcome, in Lower Burma, of a long period of loss of land ownership to moneylenders, largely absentee, through inability of the cultivators to repay loans taken out at very high rates of interest. As tenancy has grown apace, individual cultivators have become discouraged with their small return for hard work. Accordingly, many have given up paddy cultivation altogether in favor of less arduous and relatively more rewarding occupations. However, this trend may be reversed, for there began in early 1951 actual implementation of the Land Nationalization Act of 1948, which provides for distribution of agricultural land to the cultivators on an individual ownership basis.

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For the great majority of the paddy cultivators of Tadagale it is possible to eke out little more than subsistence from season to season. A few, after paying their hired labor, putting aside seed for the next year's planting, and filling the granary for home use, can realize some cash income by the sale of a small surplus of paddy. If the cultivator with a little surplus can possibly afford it, he holds the paddy until the hot season, when the market price is highest.

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The average yield per acre in Tadagale, based on data for thirty cultivators for the harvest season 1948-49, is 19.8 bushels of paddy. This compares closely with the overall average figures for Burma. According to the Yearbook of Food and Agriculture for 1949 (U.N.-F.A.O.) the average yield per acre for Burma was 20 bushels.

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In late March, the paddy fields of Tadagale are burned over, depositing an ash from any stubble remaining from the previous harvest. Sometime after the New Year celebration (which begins about April 13th and continues several days) the cultivators spread manure over their fields in preparation for the coming planting season. The manure is obtained from the Indian dairy farmers of the village in exchange for paddy stalk.

Home in Lewis Road Refugee Camp

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Since November 1949 U Myaing and his family have been living in the Lewis Road refugee camp, Rangoon. They had stopped at half a dozen places prior to their present abode, but their living had been on very much the same scale. The refugee camp is located about a mile north of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda on a hilly promontory. The area is not far from Tiger Alley (U Wisara Road) and along this road and others nearby, huts have been built up within the last few years, largely by war refugees. The buildings of the camp were earlier used as headquarters and barracks by the People's Volunteer Organisation (P.V.O.). The P.V.O. is an offshoot of the Burmese Patriot's Army following the end of the Second World War. It was originally an army, but after independence was converted into an "organisation" for political purposes. A Yellow Band and a White Band section developed and the White P.V.O.s becoming insurgents.

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The vital statistics of the camp as given by U Khant, the school master are as follows:- 269 families comprised of 856 adults (LU GYI), 211 young people (LU LAT), and 33 infants (MO SO) live in 45 huts . The number of families in each hut ranges from 9 in the smallest to 36 in the largest. The infant category includes those babies who are still breast feeding - up to one year of age. The adult category begins at the age of voting - 18 years. The proportion of the three categories as shown in the totals remains fairly consistent for each of the houses indicating that there are no special age-grade habitations. The refugees come for the most part from the Delta area of Lower Burma, from the districts of Pantanew and Bassein but they have not organised themselves in their huts according to the district or village from which they come. The assignment of space has been on a pragmatic base according to who arrived at what time. The buildings consist of for the most part of rectangular huts measuring 30 feet by 60 feet with woven split bamboo walls and thatched roofs. When the area was converted into a refugee camp, each family was assigned a certain space which they then partitioned off. A map of the refugee camp area shows a haphazard plan. The only

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25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

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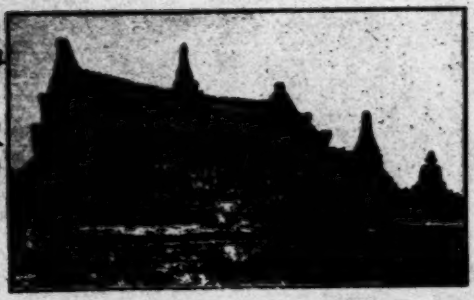

44. ANCIENT THEIN AT PAGAN.

not by age, but by the number of lenten seasons they have belonged to the Assembly. Vigils and restriction of night rest are not practised. The rule of life of the *yahán* is laid down in the *Wini* (*Vinaya Bitaka*), one of the three divisions ("baskets") of the Buddhist scriptures. A *kambaung*, or breviary of scripture, relating to membership of the Assembly, illuminated with lacquer on copper or ivory leaves, is read by turns by the five members of the conclave assembled for the reception of the new member. This solemnity is undertaken in the *thein*, a *wut* set apart for the *Thingá* alone. No lay persons enter the precincts, but they may be spectators from a distance. The new *yahán* is called *Upazin*, sojourner recluse, or assistant to the *Upyizu*, or *Phúdyí*, *Kindyí* (incumbent) of the monastery. In 1891 there were 13,613 *phúdyí*, 6,668 sojourner *yahán*, and 13,500 probationers in the monasteries of Burma, which numbered 15,371, in a Buddhist population of about seven millions.

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The dedication of the site for building such a *thein* (Pâli *sima*) is preceded by the solemnity of *thein-thaukkt*. Ground so dedicated can never be alienated to any other use. In this respect the *thein* is more sacred than the temples in general. After the site has been levelled, it is surrounded with a trench, into which water is led. In the centre a small well is sunk (*ait-dwin*). The *yahán*, not less than twenty-four in number, assemble on the spot, over which a gay pavilion (*mandat*) has been erected, and wait for the water from the trench to percolate to the well. When this occurs, the site is said to have "taken" (*aung*). Otherwise it must be rejected. The *yahán* gather round the well and intone scriptural passages from a

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45. YAHAN ASSEMBLED FOR DEDICATION OF THEIN.

25; Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 APl Burma
Burmese AP4

153. THE CHALLENGE
(*see p.* 177).

the young wife's home, the lad working for her parents. As family comes and other daughters marry, the elder pairs are established in houses of their own. Married people are designated *ein-daung*—householders. Marriage makes no difference in the names and their prefixes. Everyone marries in Burma; the census of 1891 gave 1,306,722 husbands to 1,307,292 wives. The same census gave 102 females to 100 males of the Burman (so classed as Buddhist) population. (In Burma prostitution is confined to the large towns.)

A family of seven is considered large. The average number of house-occupants is 5·5. The cost of living of a Burman village household is 100 to 200 Rs. a year. In the towns the well-to-do spend 600 to 1000 Rs. and more, and at the present day keep a servant or two for the rough work, generally natives of India. Such accumulations of wealth as are made by individuals in India and other countries with a plutocracy and a proletariate are not paralleled among the Burmans. Nevertheless individuals amass tens of thousands of rupees, which for the most part they spend on works of religious merit. Monogamy is the received and almost universal practice in Burma. Second-wives are taken by a proportion of the officials and men of wealth. Hence it comes that the Burmans wonder more at the moderation of Europeans than at such license as they indulge. This license is not nearly so great as in India, but it is more open, corresponding to the higher status of the women of Burma, and thus it provokes more scandal in comparison. Unions of this sort among the Burmans are merely by mutual consent. A separate establishment in a different quarter of the town is maintained for the second wife or concubine (*maya-ngè*). Her children are under no disability, but she is not acknowledged by the first, and generally older, wife (*mayaji*), whose husband's love she is said to have stolen.

154. AN "ORIGINAL"

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

501 [398] [531] [162] [463] 501 439 398 493

207. TYREING THE WHEEL.

a shallow dug-out bottom with three or four side-planks built up from it. The planks are held together by cane lacing, with a caulking of grass. They are very crank, but are good sea-boats, nevertheless. The only decoration is a rough crocodile's head at the bow. The boat population of Burma in 1891 was nearly 84,000, or about 1·5 per cent. of the whole population—"greatly in excess of the proportion borne to the total by the maritime population of the most maritime nation in the world" (Census report, p. 34). The only sea-going craft are the few score *kattu*, small junks of twenty to sixty tons, manned by five or six Talaings. They venture as far to sea as the Nicobars, where they ship cocoanuts in the fine or north-east monsoon. The rest of the year they lie by. The *kattu* are built at Dawè ("Tavoy"), and cost from one to two thousand rupees. They carry a compass of European make, for use in thick weather; but the navigation is empirical.

The cart-building exemplifies the Burman love of curves. In Burma Proper the root-wood of *thd* (cutch) is dug out for the sake of the bent timber. In Pegu, curved branches of *thingán* are used for the body. For wheels, solid discs of *kaung-hmu* and other woods were used in Pegu, where timber grows large (No. 306). In the North, the solid wheel is still made up of three pieces, held together by mortices and tenons (Nos. 301, 309). *Padauk* is the wood preferred for these wheels. They have a very long box for the axle, which is of *pangá* wood; the axle-box is hooped with rattan. Since the introduction of spokes and iron tyres, skill has been concentrated on the wheel; the body of the cart preserves its local type. The Burman has proved the best wheelwright of the East, both

208. PLEASURE-CART, BURMA PROPER.

25: Ferrars E-5 (ca. 1890) 1901 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

APPENDIX D.

STATISTICAL.

AREA.

131

Burma Proper and Pegu (excluding Shan States, 61,000 sq. m.) square miles	158,322 = 101,326,122 acres.
Area cropped, 1900	10,556,104 acres.

161

POPULATION IN 1901 (including Shan States, 1,228,460)	9,221,161
Mean annual birth-rate per 1,000	37·34
,, death ,, ,,	28·16

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN 1891.

162

Burmans and Talaings { males, 3,030,797 / females, 3,098,385 }	6,129,182
(Increase since 1881, 22¼ per cent.)	
Shans	206,794
Karéns	633,657
Chins	95,571
Chimpáws (Kachin ? more)	2,[illegible]
Chinese	37,407
Natives of India	432,639
Europeans (including 4000 troops)	12,491
Eurasians	6,978
Others	167,134
Total, census of 1891	7,722,053

FISCAL.

178 In 1796 the special impost of 33·3 tikals of fine silver per house took three years to collect, and produced the equivalent of about nine million rupees. The purchasing-power of money has
651 declined 50 to 60 per cent. since that time, apart from depreciation of silver.

435 In 1900 the gross revenue of Burma was 70,400,000 rupees, of which Pegu contributed 63 per cent. The expenditure was forty-three millions. Out of the surplus there was a balance of Rs. 24,700,000 of Imperial revenue over expenditure. The incidence of direct taxation (land and capitation taxes, which produce about one-half of the revenue) is four rupees per head of population; which, with an average of 5·5 inhabitants, comes to twenty-two rupees per house.

CRIMINAL, AVERAGES 1894-8.

6074

Convictions for offences against life (including attempted murder and culpable homicide, 40 per cent.)	244
,, ,, hurt	2,691
,, ,, rape	76
,, ,, robbery	654
,, ,, theft	8,481

29: Slater M-4 (no date) 1951 AP1 Burma
Burmese AP4

a simple, straightforward affirmation, but it is not denial. No religion could so persist if it merely brought man's elemental aspirations to a sharp cliff and threw them over.

5. *Burmese Buddhism*

If there are good reasons for approaching the subject of religious paradox by a study of Buddhism, there are also good reasons for considering Buddhism as it appears in Burma where it is still a living and a dominant religion.

In the study of great religious traditions there is always need to maintain a balance between regard for the written texts and for the living expression. To consult one without the other is to misinterpret both. What the Christmas stories in the gospels mean to Christians cannot be fully discerned if they are isolated from Christmas observance any more than the Jātaka stories of Buddhism can be fully appreciated until they are read in the context of popular faith, with its drama and poetry. And what an entirely misleading impression of monastic Buddhism one might get from the Abhidhamma literature unless one has seen something of the life of a Buddhist monastery! This balance, as our Burmese critic observed, has not always been maintained in the study of Southern Buddhism.

Burma provides exceptional opportunities for such a study. "If anybody wants to know and see Buddhism as conceived and preached by the Buddha himself so far as the Saṃgha life goes," says a recent writer, "one can see a nearest approach to it in the monasteries of Burma.... Of all the Indianised lands of South-eastern Asia, Burma is indeed the only country where monastic Buddhism of the Theravāda nikāya survives to this day in its pristine purity."[24] And the same writer emphasises the impact of this monastic life on Burmese life and culture.

In Burma, eighty-five per cent of the inhabitants are Buddhists. Of these, one in every hundred is a Buddhist monk. Go where you will, you find the yellow robe of the Order, the pagoda gleaming white across the plain or on the hillside, the monastery in every village, intimately related to the life of the people. This has been the situation for centuries. Here one can see Buddhism in action; one can try to interpret its symbols in the light of the very real, if rustic, civilisation which it has shaped and maintained. Burma is one of the most interesting countries in the Orient. Its people are literate. There is freedom from caste, and, for that matter, scarcely any class system. In the days of the monarchy, "when you left the king, you dropped at once to the villager."[25] An Englishman observed,

[24] Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Theravāda Buddhism in Burma*, chap. VII, p. 262.
[25] Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, chap. IX, p. 106.